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CURRENTS

READINGS IN RACE RELATIONS

SPRING 1985

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**RACE RELATIONS
AND MUNICIPAL
GOVERNMENT**

Published by **THE URBAN ALLIANCE ON RACE RELATIONS**



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The Urban Alliance on Race Relations, formed in July 1975 "to promote a stable and healthy multiracial environment in the community," is a non-profit organization made up of volunteers from all sectors of the community.

The Urban Alliance on Race Relations is an educational agency and an advocate and intermediary for the visible minorities. It works toward encouraging better race relations, increased understanding and awareness among our multicultural, multiracial population through programmes of education directed at both the private and public sectors of the community. It is also focusing its efforts on the institutions of our society including educational systems, employment, government, media, legislation, police, social service agencies and human services, in order to reduce patterns of discrimination and inequality of opportunity which may exist within these institutions.

The work of the organization is carried out through working committees such as: Education Institutions; Legislation; Media; Law Enforcement.

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CURRENTS, 229 College Street, Suite 302, Toronto, Ontario M5T 1R4. Telephone (416) 598-0111.

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CONTENTS

2 EDITORIAL

INITIATIVES

- 4 LOCAL GOVERNMENT, RACE RELATIONS POLICIES & STRUCTURES: BEYOND MAYOR'S COMMITTEES?
- 5 A TALE OF ONE CITY: ADVANCING HUMAN RIGHTS THROUGH CIVIC COMMITTEE ACTION
Charles S. Ungerleider
- 11 PETERBOROUGH: MAYOR'S COMMITTEE ON INTERRACIAL RELATIONS
- 11 CITY OF NORTH YORK: COMMITTEE ON COMMUNITY, RACE AND ETHNIC RELATIONS
- 14 CITY OF OTTAWA: ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON VISIBLE MINORITIES
- 15 WORKING FOR EQUALITY IN MULTI-RACIAL LONDON
- 17 RACIAL EQUALITY IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESSES OF THE MUNICIPALITY: A POSSIBLE MODEL
- 18 MONITORING EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY PROGRAMMES AT THE MUNICIPAL LEVEL
- 21 MUNICIPAL CONTRACTS AND THEIR ROLE IN PROMOTING RACIAL EQUALITY
- 22 MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT AND MINORITY BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT

FINDINGS

- 26 NO DISCRIMINATION HERE? TORONTO EMPLOYERS AND THE MULTIRACIAL WORKFORCE: A BASELINE STUDY
Brenda Billingsley & Leon Muszynski
- 31 JOB SEGREGATION AT THE MUNICIPALITY OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO

REVIEWS

- 33 POLICY AND PRACTICE IN THE MULTI-RACIAL CITY
- 34 THE SYSTEM

Municipal Government and Race Relations

IN MANY WAYS the municipal level of government is the most important institution in Canadian society in being able to help eliminate racial discrimination.

Municipal governments can be influential in improving race relations in Canada for a number of reasons:

As *service providers*, municipalities are responsible for many of the key services that determine the quality of life in a community and influence a person's opportunities and life chances. Municipalities have an unparalleled degree of precise knowledge of local conditions as a result of the experience and expertise gained in providing such diverse services as transportation, streets and roads, utilities, water and sewage, policing, personal and property protection, social welfare, health services, education, art and culture, parks and recreation, energy conservation, historical resource conservation, environmental protection and land use development. As an indication of the scale of municipal activity, total municipal expenditures amounted to almost \$33 billion in 1982, representing over 9 per cent of Canada's gross national expenditure.

As *employers*, municipalities are often the largest employers in their area. Without counting seasonal employees or those employed by municipal enterprises, utilities or local school authorities, the municipal workforce is over 287,000 which accounts for almost 25 per cent of all public sector employees in Canada.

As *influencers of public opinion*, municipalities are well positioned to positively affect community attitudes and practices. Because of the immediacy of the municipal presence in people's daily lives, local government's have the capacity to identify specific local issues and needs. In many ways they are much more able than the senior levels of government to develop consensus and mobilize action.

As a *purchaser of goods and services*, the municipality has the capacity to influence the employment practices of local employers. As an indication of this power, the annual municipal procurement budget is estimated to be well over \$7.5 billion, which is 25 per cent greater than that of the federal government.

As a *grant-aiding authority*, municipalities can ensure that its financing and grants are equitably allocated to meet minority needs.

As the *most direct, open, accessible, accountable and flexible level of government*, municipalities have increasingly become the most important vehicle for resolving the community's most pressing concerns.

Initiatives

There are a number of steps which municipalities can take to eliminate racial discrimination within their community:

They can adopt a formal policy of equality of opportunity and employment equity.

They can set-up a committee of elected council members to review race relations work.

They can establish an interdepartmental staff working committee to monitor progress and develop action plans.

They can consult regularly with local minority communities.

They can appoint specialist staff both for the municipality as a whole and for individual departments to monitor race relations policies.

They can ensure that employment equity procedures are implemented that will ensure the full participation of minorities in the municipal workforce.

Some of the larger municipalities in Canada have already begun to undertake some of these initiatives to develop local strategies to improve the climate of race relations. However, by and large, municipalities have been very tentative in pursuing the policies and practices that are required, and that they have the mandate and capacity to pursue, to ensure racial equality. There is much that municipalities can do to adjust their organization and operations at little cost. Municipalities have a special responsibility to set an example and provide leadership.

Comprehensive race equality policies can be developed and implemented by municipalities for everyone's benefit. It requires not a half-hearted approach but a whole hearted, unequivocal political resolve and determination.

The purpose of this issue of *Currents* is to explore in further detail some of the initiatives that municipalities have and can pursue to improve race relations as an employer, as a purchaser of services, as a provider of services, and as an influential institution in their communities.

TIM REES

Local Government, Race Relations Policies & Structures:

Beyond Mayor's Committees?

The response of municipal government thus far in Canada to the issue of racial equality appears to be largely towards the creation of a Mayor's Committee, or a Race Relations Task Force, or a Community Relations Advisory Council, or some similarly named group. The cities of Vancouver, Ottawa, Peterborough, Toronto, North York, East York and Scarborough have one, and the concept is presently being looked at in Etobicoke, City of York, Peel County, Hamilton, Halifax, Winnipeg, Edmonton and Surrey. Before we get hypnotized by what appears to have become the Canadian conventional panacea for every social problem, it is perhaps useful to be distracted for a moment by reflecting on what such community committees can and cannot do.

Whatever they are named, the experience in Canada thus far, indicates that they generally have been given broad, largely non-controversial goals that give precedence to creating good or harmonious community, race and ethnic relations. This has largely been done by bringing together a select group of people who are asked to pursue this goal through a process of mediation and conciliation. Is there a danger here of relegating and marginalizing the goal of racial equality and of not directly and rigorously combatting the facts of racial discrimination?

- With vague terms of reference, sitting outside the normal decision-making process, and rarely with adequate staffing or research resources, are they structured for failure?
- To what extent can they monitor, scrutinize

and publicly criticize local government policies? How much of an influence and impact can they have on municipal policies?

- To what extent can such Committees provide the eyes and ears for the local bureaucracy. Can they ever be in the position to make the kind of thorough investigation of the local area which the municipality should require?
- Are these committees going to find themselves permanently on a knife edge between maintaining the quiet acceptance of the status quo which might satisfy the municipality, and asserting a strong anti-discrimination line which would satisfy the minority communities?
- Are they overly dependent upon the support of the Mayor for their existence? Does the Mayor allow it to operate as an effective critic of local government policies?
- In the composition of these committees, is there undue emphasis upon bringing together representatives of the minority elite? Are the articulate spokespeople from the minority communities too readily prepared to enjoy this 'elite strategy'?
- Can such Committees truly represent the views of the minorities themselves? Will they be seen as a substitute for the active participation and advocacy activities of minority group organizations? Is the very existence of such Committees in danger of proving a hindrance to direct access, participation and development of such minority self-help groups?

- Are Committees a substitute for action, given that they generally lack strategic importance and the necessary institutional approach to result in meaningful change? Are they in danger of acting as agents of social control rather than social change?

Local government should be beware of establishing a local community committee to

the detriment of clear thinking and vigorous questioning about objectives and policies.

The following articles describe some of the community councils that local governments have established in Canada to tackle racial discrimination. It is important to assess these initiatives with the above concerns and questions in mind.

A Tale of One City: Advancing Human Rights Through Civic Committee Action *

Charles S. Ungerleider

This article examines the work of the Special Council Committee on Race Relations in the City of Vancouver; appraises some of the strengths and weaknesses in the areas of police ethnic relations and equal employment opportunity; analyses the factors facilitating and impeding the Committee in accomplishing its goals in those two areas; and makes some suggestions which other committees may wish to consider.

Introduction

Charles Dickens chose to open his historical novel *A Tale of Two Cities* with lines signalling the vast and confusing nature of the social and political changes occurring in England and France during the late eighteenth century:

It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of Hope, it was the winter of despair...

It is from that Dickens' novel that the title of this article was drawn and I am as confused by the changes occurring in my time as some were by the changes which occurred two hundred years ago. I am confused by those who

would tolerate the preaching of hatred or the purveyance of pornography on the grounds of free speech and press. While I would not for a second wish to change places with the victims of injustice and oppression in England and France of the late eighteenth century, I am made fearful by the atavistic notion that the individual rather than the state must protect human rights.

Nowhere in North America is that notion more evident than it is in British Columbia. The primitive acceptance of inequality and the emphasis on the individual's own resources and resourcefulness are evident, for example, in the changes which the government of British Columbia has brought about in human rights. It is important to recognize the changes occurring in the socio-political context which affect human rights because they both circumscribe what may be accomplished at the municipal level and make what occurs at the municipal level extremely consequential in determining the quality of life in local communities.

*This article is extracted from a paper presented to Rights and Liberties - Creating Social Change. A Conference sponsored by the University of Victoria and The Canadian Rights and Liberties Federation, Victoria, B.C., 22 and 23 March 1985.

The Special Council Committee on Race Relations

During the Fall of 1981, the Mayor of Vancouver, the Honourable Michael Harcourt, proposed the establishment of a committee concerned with race relations. A report about the feasibility, terms of reference and composition of the committee was prepared by the Director of Social Planning. Several months later, on 23 February 1982, Vancouver City Council approved the establishment of a committee composed of two Aldermen and eighteen citizens, "people appointed on the basis of their knowledge of and interest in the field of race relations." It was envisioned that the Committee would advise, monitor, advocate and liaise in order "to foster and improve race relations in the City of Vancouver." In its terms of reference, the Committee was given the mandate to:

1. propose to City Council short and long term strategies and actions to promote social harmony and reduce racial tension;
2. review and comment upon proposed and current legislation, policies and practices designed to combat racism and promote multiculturalism; and
3. liaise with Civic and outside Boards, Commissions, Departments and agencies concerning race relations.

During its initial monthly meetings, the members of the Committee discussed racism in general terms and tried to identify specific areas of concern where the Committee could have an impact. The Committee eventually decided to concentrate its efforts at the civic level, focusing on "how the City, through its mandate as an employer, provider of services and legislator could improve race relations." To that end, four subcommittees were formed with the responsibility for making recommendations in the following areas:

1. Police: Recruitment, selection, training, complaints procedure, community relations;
2. Civic Services: Access to services and information by ethnic minorities;
3. Equal Employment Opportunity (in Civic Departments and Boards): Hiring, personnel practices, staff training, promotion; and

4. Civic Policies and By-laws: Appointments to Boards, Civic grants to community groups, City contracts, Business License criteria, Anti-discrimination By-law.

Since 1981 the *Special Council Committee on Race Relations* has met once per month, carrying out its work through the subcommittee structure and through various specialized committees which have been established from time to time. The Committee is a working committee. Most Committee members are encouraged to hold membership on one of the subcommittees where virtually all the work is carried out. The Committee and its subcommittees are assisted in their deliberations by a part time Multicultural Coordinator from the Department of Social Planning, the Equal Employment Opportunity Coordinator from the Personnel Department, a representative of the Health Department, and the Community Relations Officer from the Police Department. At the monthly meetings, a clerk from the City Clerk's office takes minutes and attends to the Chairman's correspondence. (City of Vancouver, 1982; Yee, 1984)

Obstacles to Change

The experience of the Vancouver Police Department in dealing with race relations is different from the experience of other departments in the civic bureaucracy. While the Police Department is not exemplary, change appears, at this early date, to have proceeded more rapidly and have been more far reaching in this organization than in other civic areas.

Nevertheless, there appears to be a regular sequence of changes in the way institutions respond to the problem of systemic discrimination. During the initial phase of contact between those who advocate change and those within the organization who would be affected by the changes proposed, the insiders deny that the problem exists. When, for example, it is pointed out to, say, a local police department that there are relatively few visible minorities on the force, one may be told that visible minorities do not seem to want to be police officers. If one persists by claiming that the proportion of visible minorities on the force ought to generally reflect their proportion in the general population of the com-

munity, one may meet with resistance which is affected by the degree to which the insider identifies with the organization and possesses a sense of corporate responsibility. During this initial phase, the insiders often feel that criticism directed toward the institution is directed at them as individuals. Thus, one is often asked, "Do you think I'm some kind of racist or something?" "Are you saying that the police discriminate?"

It takes time and effort to overcome the initial defensiveness engendered by contact between the insiders and outsiders. As time passes, there is typically a gradual change toward a grudging acceptance that systemic discrimination is a problem which affects institutions, especially those in other jurisdictions. As the insiders come to entertain the possibility that the institution of which they are a part is affected by systemic discrimination, there is discernible shift toward blaming the victim rather than changing the institution. The absence of visible minorities in the workforce is attributed to the visible minorities, themselves, who are seen to lack the skills and or initiative to get the job. Hence, one is sometimes told that they have affirmative action in the States where, for example, it was necessary to lower the standard to make it possible for minority group individuals to enter the police forces. "That," it is aggressively asserted, "is reverse discrimination."

If one is able to get beyond the abstract discussion of principles to the discussion of specific barriers, one may encounter another form of resistance. When, for example, it is pointed out that uniform regulations prohibiting the wearing of beards and turbans for Sikhs act as a barrier to their employment as police officers, one is told, "If they really want the job, they'll shave." "I can't wear a beard either." "We haven't had that problem here, they don't seem to want to be police officers."

With persistent effort, the existence of systemic discrimination within the institution is eventually acknowledged. It is often the case, at this point, that obstacles — expenses and logistics — are identified which are beyond the institution's control and which prevent solving the problem. In the case of the employment of turbaned Sikhs, the obstacle is

the uniform regulation preventing the wearing of beards and turbans. The regulation is controlled by the Police Commission, a provincial body outside the immediate control of local police departments. If one is fortunate, the fifth phase is eventually achieved. It involves genuine acceptance of the problem and the responsibility for addressing the problem.

An example from policing was simply used to illustrate the obstacles to change within organizations which are being directed toward addressing systemic discrimination. There are differences between institutions affecting the rate at which the members of the institution accept responsibility for the problem. For example, in Vancouver there are differences between the acceptance of changes within the Police Department and the other civic departments, with the differences favouring the Police Department. The differences are attributable to the responsibilities, structures and working of the departments.

The responsibility for race relations in the Vancouver Police Department is vested in a high ranking position which can call upon organizational resources including personnel and access to the Chief Constable. The responsibility in City Hall rests in a middle management position which is located within the Personnel Department. While access to the City's chief executive officer, the City Manager, is available to the Equal Employment Opportunity Coordinator, the location of the position within the Personnel Department places the Director of Personnel as an intermediary between the Equal Employment Opportunity Coordinator and the City Manager.

It is also the case that the Police Department has been more cognizant of the multicultural character of the City of Vancouver than other agencies and it arrived at the realization earlier than other departments. The nature of the role of the police puts the problem of responding to diversity at the forefront of their consciousness in a way that it not characteristic of other civic employees. In general, the departments in city hall do not have the visibility the Police Department has nor are the individuals who work within the civic bureaucracy as visible as the police.

Relatively low visibility to outsiders protects the individuals and the institution from the demands of those who seek to change organizational practices.

Some Lessons for Other Communities

Given the general climate surrounding human rights, it is desirable that cities establish their own committees to address race relations. Few cities have sufficient expertise to address issues of race relations without involving the public. The establishment of the committee itself is a statement about the importance of harmonious relations within its jurisdiction. It is important to insure that the committee is composed of people with the background, time and willingness to work at developing policies and procedures which will advance race relations. (Bruce, 1983; Canada, House of Commons, 1984)

Although it is a necessary ingredient, public participation is not sufficient to improve race relations. It is also necessary to commit human and material resources to the effort. The staff people responsible for race relations should have access to and the support of the chief executives in the civic bureaucracy. They should possess institutional resources commensurate with the tasks which face them, including support staff and an adequate budget.

There is little question that symbols are important elements in human relations. However, in a social environment where substantive issues such as employment and fair treatment are matters of concern on a daily basis, symbols are not likely to satisfy people for very long. Thus, cities contemplating the establishment of race relations committees ought to consider whether their intentions are primarily symbolic or material. If they are both material and symbolic, they might consider the following recommendations.

Recommendation One: Council should hire a Race Relations Officer and provide additional technical assistance and support for race relations.

Race relations and the work of the *Special Council Committee on Race Relations* have not enjoyed an appropriate level of staff support.

At present, the City employs one person as an Equal Employment Opportunity Coordinator, devotes less than a full time staff person to the coordination of Multicultural efforts, and only provides clerical assistance to the Special Council Committee on Race Relations (i.e., not to any of its subcommittees). The efforts of the Equal Employment Opportunity Co-ordinator, the Multicultural Co-ordinator and the clerk's office are typically generous. Despite the individual generosity and hard work of the incumbents of those positions, there is need for additional support for the Special Council Committee on Race Relations, its subcommittees and the City's work in race relations.

In November 1983, the Race Relations Committee recommended that: *The role of the Equal Employment Opportunity Co-ordinator be expanded to include the Ombudsman status with the powers to investigate and recommend corrective action similar to the Anti-Discrimination Directorate of the Public Service Commission.* Council had approved a much narrower role definition for the Equal Employment Opportunity Co-ordinator position when the position was established. The Director of Personnel Services did not support the recommendation. Although he acknowledged that "there is a need for such a position at the senior government level, ...in a smaller, relatively accessible and responsive organization such as the City, it should not be required."

There is nevertheless a need for a person who has the power to investigate and settle complaints received from citizens about alleged abuses or capricious acts by civic officials. Such a person would act as a neutral third party in investigating complaints about discriminatory treatment by either the City or its departments.

Recommendation Two: Council should provide for technical assistance: in the area of race relations.

The various Departments of the City are typically cooperative about providing the help and information which the Committee needs. However, their assistance is generally above and beyond the call of duty. In recognition of the need for help for the work of the Committee, the Committee contacted the deans of

several faculties (Commerce, Law and Social Work, Education) within local universities about assigning students to the Committee as unpaid interns. During the 1984-1985 academic year internships were arranged for six students from the Faculty of Commerce of the University of British Columbia. While the arrangement appears to be mutually advantageous, it is, nevertheless, a less satisfactory means of providing technical assistance to improving race relations. There is a need for additional technical assistance for the Special Council Committee on Race Relations. Among the tasks which would be of assistance to the Committee are:

1. Reviewing literature and materials bearing on the work of the subcommittees.
2. Providing statistical analyses of data of interest to subcommittees.
3. Preparing Reports and drafting recommendations on behalf of committees.

Recommendation Three: Council should issue a written equal employment policy statement.

Council ought to issue a very firm public statement that equal employment opportunity for all people is regarded as an economic, social and legal necessity requiring special action to overcome the consequences of past discrimination such as the setting of specific goals with monitoring and evaluation. Council should indicate that department heads will be held responsible for the policy as it affects their departments in the same way they are held responsible for the tasks which their departments perform for the city and/or the public.

Recommendation Four: Council should develop goals and timetables to improve the employment and distribution of target group members in the workforce:

At this juncture in its history, the Equal Employment Opportunity Program would be substantially augmented, if civic departments were required to set goals for the employment of members of designated groups (visible minorities, women and the disabled). A small number of people may object to such action, making a variety of fallacious arguments which are easily rebutted.

Establishing targets for the employment of members of designated groups is **NOT** Affirmative Action. The joint Committees are asking for the voluntary establishment of realistic goals for its Equal Employment Opportunity program. It is not obligatory for departments to reach those goals at the times they set out. Establishing goals is both sound organizational practice and a sign of good faith to those groups who are concerned with equitable treatment. Affirmative Action programs require mandatory goals and timetables. Under affirmative action programs, when goals are not met in specified times, penalties are imposed. The program we are talking does not involve mandatory goals and timetables. It is voluntary, involving no more than moral persuasion to achieve its ends.

Equal Employment Opportunity programs which establish goals are **NOT** guilty of reverse discrimination. According to the Canadian Charter of Rights [section 15(1)]: *Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age, or mental or physical disability.* Furthermore the Canadian Charter of Rights goes on to say that [section 15(2) subsection (1)]: *does not preclude any law, program or activity that has as its object the amelioration of conditions of disadvantaged individuals or groups including those that are disadvantaged because of race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age, or mental or physical disability.*

A small number of people may argue that, by making the Equal Employment Opportunity program an active and visible program, the City is creating and exacerbating racism and discrimination. The argument is identical to the proposition that the police, by vigorously enforcing drunk driving laws, are increasing the amount and intensity of drinking in our community as well as people's desire to drive while under the influence of drink. This argument confuses causes and consequences, reversing the order. It is racism and discrimination that create the need for Equal Employment Opportunity programs. If people did not drink and drive, the police would not need to vigorously enforce the drunk driving laws.

An equally small number of people may say that the employment of members of the target groups, especially visible minorities, will result in the abandonment of the merit principle. This assertion is offensive. It implies that members of the target groups cannot meet the City's standards. People who make this assertion should be compelled to provide carefully gathered evidence. If fact, careful reviews of personnel journals have never turned up evidence in support of this claim. Treated as an empirical claim, the City should be obliged to carefully test the proposition. There are people who are most willing to use their talents as researchers to investigate such a proposition.

Recommendation Five: Council should develop and implement specific programs to achieve goals, including review and action in the following areas:

1. Recruitment: All personnel procedures.
2. Selection procedures:
 - a. Job requirements
 - b. Job descriptions
 - c. Standards and procedures
 - d. Application forms
 - e. Testing
 - f. Interviews
3. Promotion system:
 - a. Assignments
 - b. Job Progressions
 - c. Transfers
 - d. Seniority
 - e. Promotions
 - f. Training
4. Wage and salary structure
5. Benefits and conditions of employment
6. Terminations:
 - a. Layoffs
 - b. Recall
 - c. Terminations
 - d. Demotions
 - e. Disciplinary action
7. Union contracts

Recommendation Six: Council should evaluate progress and report to the public about progress in each aspect of the program on an annual basis.

Charles Ungerleider is Associate Professor, Department of Social and Educational Studies, University of British Columbia.

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Peterborough: Mayor's Committee on Interracial Relations

After a number of racial incidents in 1981, the Mayor established a committee of 18 members representing a broad cross-section of citizens from industry, the church, education, labour and law enforcement, to investigate the situation.

The report to the Mayor in June 1982, made a number of recommendations. These included the need for the City Council to announce a policy statement, and the establishment of a structure for coordinating race relations programs and services. It was proposed that the Director of Community Services act as a resource centre and to liaise with and coordinate the efforts of groups and organizations in the community working towards improved race relations. In addition, it was recommended that the Mayor establish a Community Committee with representatives from those

groups with most direct contact with visible minority groups. This would include representatives from education, police, clergy, labour, industry, the chamber of commerce, media, service organizations, as well as ethnic and racial groups. The Committee would liaise with the Director of Community Services and provide input about the needs and concerns of the various groups within the community.

The Council is presently reorganizing itself as it moves towards the establishment of a Peterborough Multicultural Centre.

References:

- Report of Citizens Committee on Interracial Relations. Presented to Mayor Robert Baker on behalf of the citizens of Peterborough, June 1982.

City of North York: Committee on Community, Race and Ethnic Relations:

Established in 1979, the Committee's objectives are to:

- a) To advise and consult with the Mayor and Members of Council on matters involving community, race and ethnic relations and equal employment opportunity.
- b) To formulate and recommend to the Mayor and Members of Council appropriate policies and programs which will reduce tensions and enhance community, race and ethnic relations in the City.
- c) To work actively with the North York Board

of Education, the Metropolitan Separate School Board, the Metropolitan Toronto Police Force, the North York Parks and Recreation Department, the North York Library Board, universities, colleges, and other relevant institutions and voluntary organizations in promoting mutual trust and respect among the City of North York's racial and ethnic groups and the institutions and agencies serving them.

- d) To encourage minority and local groups, both public and private, to engage in pro-

- grams for the improvement of community, race, and ethnic relations and the fulfillment of human rights.
- e) To initiate and coordinate discussions among individuals and groups to reduce tensions and to promote understanding and harmony in the community.
 - f) To receive, review and refer to appropriate authorities, as required, complaints of racial and ethnic tensions and discriminatory practices.
 - g) To recommend to the municipality, programs to provide equal employment opportunity, including recruitment, selection, training and promotion of members of visible minorities and other groups.
 - h) To identify areas requiring governmental or university research initiatives which will assist not only to evaluate the effectiveness of programs already established to eliminate discrimination in the community, but also to devise new policy or program initiatives.

Membership

The membership of the Committee is drawn from a mix of institutions, agencies and individuals. The current Co-Chairmen are two individuals serving in a voluntary capacity and chosen for their special experience and expertise in this field. They are non-institutional representatives appointed by the Mayor and Council of the City of North York.

Present membership comprises of elected representatives of the Council including the Mayor and two aldermen, the local Boards of Education, and representatives from various governmental and non-governmental institutions and agencies.

The Committee reports to the Board of Control which in turn reports to the Council of the City of North York. The Committee has a number of sub-committees such as education, recreation and leisure, and community forums. The Committee is staffed by an Executive-Director whose duties include:

- assists the Co-Chairmen in the preparation of agendas and minutes of meetings;
- assists the Committee in the analysis of existing reports, studies and recommendations;

- initiates research as required;
- assists the Committee in establishing contacts and maintaining liaison with other concerned individuals and community groups in both government and private sectors;
- supports the work of the various Sub-Committees;
- establishes, develops and maintains an evaluation component to assist the Committee to periodically review its work.

How is the Committee Promoting Institutional Change?

The first task was the development of a Policy Statement on Race Relations which North York Council adopted in 1980, and states:

Those in high places are more than the administrators of government bureaus. They are more than the writers of laws. They are the custodians of a community's ideals, of the beliefs it cherishes, of its permanent hopes, of the faith which makes a community out of a mere aggregation of individuals. (Walter Lippmann)

1. The City of North York requires that its residents are legally entitled to full and equal access to and participation in all its social, cultural, economic and political affairs.
 2. The City of North York considers the presence of people from a wide range of racial, ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds within the city to be a reflection of the Canadian ideal and a source of enrichment and strength.
 3. The City of North York instructs its staff to ensure that these objectives are met in the performance of their duties and it urges its associated boards and commissions to issue similar instructions.
- The Committee has conducted several staff training sessions and workshops on race relations and the impact of multiculturalism in the workplace. In addition to these sessions, the Committee has, in many instances, assisted in resolving or mediating conflicts and tensions in the community and institutions.
 - The Committee has either a membership or

an advisory capacity on a variety of institutional committees, community organizations, and agencies in North York. For example, the Committee is represented on the Metropolitan Toronto Council on Race Relations and Policing and is also an advisor to the York University Race Relations Committee. The Committee's role on these committees is to advise on race relations issues and to ensure, where possible, that the interests of the community, race, and ethnic minorities are represented.

- The Committee submits briefs from time to time, to commissions on Race Relations. For example, the Committee appeared before the Parliamentary Committee on Participation of Visible Minorities in Canada. It has also recommended to other organizations or agencies the establishment of community development programs which develop full citizen participation at the neighbourhood level.
- As a continuing commitment, the Committee is involved in remedial activities and development of appropriate models to promote racial harmony in the city. For example: Through its Education Sub Committee, the Committee has facilitated and assisted in the development of the North York Board of Education Race Relations Policy, as well as the Metropolitan Separate School Board's Multicultural and Race Relations Policy. The Committee has developed an intervention model for handling perceived racial tensions in schools, institutions, colleges and universities. The Committee has developed strategies to create awareness among educational institutions and communities on how to respond to and resolve possible racial tensions positively and constructively.
- The Committee has employed young people over the summer period to encourage community development and youth interaction with various institutions. Each project has included skill development components to assist youth to develop job readiness potential. For example, young people were employed to investigate community needs in the following areas: recreation and leisure, housing, education, youth employment,

policing, media, and race related issues. In addition, young people have also been employed to provide outreach in the community to specific recreational programs.

- The Committee has supported the establishment of a youth employment service in one area of North York and recommended that there be community representation on the advisory board.
- The Committee has intervened in disputes involving community groups from different racial and ethnic backgrounds, resolved the problems, and assisted in setting up programs that are of mutual benefit to these groups.
- As with institutions, the Committee has continually met requests by community groups to assist in race relations training, multiculturalism programming, and organizational skills. A mediation service between communities and institutions in conflict is also provided.
- The Committee has identified areas of high need in the community and made recommendations to appropriate institutions for action. For example, with the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, the Committee developed a Neighbourhood Outreach program employing 6 community-based workers to assist in bridging the communication gap between the community and the institutions serving that community.
- Parallel to other Sub-Committees, the Community Forums Sub-Committee has conducted short-term projects in certain strategic neighbourhoods where there is potential for race and ethnic relations tension. These projects are conducted to assist the residents to develop programs which are of general benefit or that promote inter-group interaction and harmony. Problems in these communities are brought in confidence to the attention of the Committee by the residents themselves or by representatives of the social service organizations serving that area.
- These projects are co-operatively organized with the social services agencies or relevant

institutions in the area to ensure a continuity of resources when the Committee withdraws from the area at the end of the contract period. Furthermore, this cooperative venture assists in promoting community and institutional interface at the local level.

- The strategies that are developed to resolve problems in these communities are portable and can be adapted to other areas and communities which are experiencing similar conditions; for example, the production and use of a multicultural adult literacy program as a vehicle for promoting race relations.
- The Recreation and Leisure Sub-Committee

has conducted a needs assessment survey to collect data for use in its community consultation meetings. These meetings are held in the community to encourage community participation and interaction with institutions.

- The Committee also maintains contacts with other race relations or multi-cultural committees within Metro Toronto and across Canada.

References:

- Committee on Community, Race & Ethnic Relations.
- Committee Structure and Mandate, City of North York.

City of Ottawa: Advisory Committee on Visible Minorities

Established in 1982, the terms of reference of the Advisory Committee are:

- To work towards the realization of a National Capital which will be a model City for harmonious race relations in Canada (general objective);
- To work towards the elimination of racial discrimination within the City of Ottawa (specific target).

The activities to be considered under the term of reference include:

- a) The review of policies and practices over which the City of Ottawa has direct control for any discriminatory elements and to make recommendations to Council for any necessary amendments thereto, including, but not limited to the following policies and practices:
 1. Personnel - including the need for an Affirmative Action Program;
 2. The issuance of City of Ottawa contracts and licenses;
 3. Housing;
 4. The awarding of City of Ottawa grants; and

5. The usage of City of Ottawa facilities, including displays, exhibits community festivals and other activities.
- b) To cooperate with local and regional bodies (e.g. Boards of Education, local Police Forces, etc.) to ensure the avoidance or the elimination of racial discrimination in their policies and practices.
- c) To cooperate with and support other organizations, associations, and bodies with similar aims and objectives in order to develop a strong lobbying network.
- d) To encourage the formation and development of, and collaboration among, visible minority groups which, through activities and services of a self-help nature, can better meet the needs of their own members.
- e) To encourage on the neighbourhood level formal and informal contact in order to:
 1. promote a better understanding of different cultures; and
 2. give members of visible minorities a forum to describe to other groups what it means to belong to a visible minority.

Membership

The Committee consists of twelve members which includes two members of the City Council and ten persons serving in their individual capacities representing the total community from different ethnic, racial and work backgrounds.

The Committee reports to City Council through the Administration, Policy and Priorities Committee. Sub-committees have been established including personnel, community issues and police. The Committee is staffed by a coordinator.

Activities of the Committee

The activities of the Committee presently include:

- Continuation of the work of the Joint Com-

mittee on Police/Community Cross-Cultural education.

- Development of a multiculturalism policy for the City of Ottawa.
- In cooperation with the Office of Equal Opportunity and the Department of Personnel - to implement an Employment Systems Review of the City's Personnel policy. The Committee had invited the Department of Personnel to conduct an internal survey of visible minorities in the workforce - 2% in the City's workforce compared to 7% in the total community (April 1984).
- Continued liaison with ethnocultural and community groups.

References:

- Annual Report 1984. Advisory Committee on Visible Minorities. City of Ottawa.

Working for Equality in Multi-Racial London, U.K.

Visible minority groups make up about 14% of London's population, but are to be found concentrated in the most depressed parts of the capital. Racism and racial disadvantages are acknowledged by the Greater London Council as being very pervasive in society and warrant comprehensive positive measures to ensure that all ethnic or racial groups are treated as equals. With this in mind, the Council has accorded high priority within its activities to developing policies and programmes to meet the particular needs of ethnic minorities and to promote equality of opportunity for these groups.

The Ethnic Minorities Committee is one of the main committees of the Council and responsible for developing the explicit race equality policies and programmes.

The objectives and targets of the Committee include action:

1. To represent to central government the continuing need to accord a high priority to programmes aimed at tackling racial disadvantage, particularly in the inner ur-

ban areas of Greater London, and to monitor central government policies and activities as to any adverse impact on the ethnic minority communities.

2. To foster the employment prospects of ethnic minorities in London through their access to jobs within the Greater London Council, as provided for in the Council's equal opportunities policy statement, and through efforts to foster increased opportunities among other employers in the London area.
3. To monitor GLC activities so as to identify the impact of current and proposed policies and programmes on the ethnic groups and recommend action accordingly.
4. To tackle the serious problems of racial disadvantage through:
 - (a) the further development of programmes, in consultation with ethnic minority groups and the Committees concerned, aimed at meeting their particular needs in the spheres of housing, arts,

- recreation, entertainment, job training, job creation, community enterprise.
- (b) to encourage statutory agencies (such as the boroughs, health authorities, etc.), in the Greater London area to develop equality programmes, in consultation with representatives of ethnic minority communities, aimed at meeting the particular needs of those communities with regard to social services, training, employment, job creation, education, health services, housing, leisure and recreation, youth facility provision, meeting place provision and environmental health.
 5. To establish effective consultation machinery and channels of communication between the Council and the ethnic minority communities, in the first instance by making use of the ethnic media serving the Greater London area while testing and developing other means of communication and consultation.
 6. To work towards the elimination of racism in London and the racial discrimination it sustains.
 7. To foster improved access to training opportunities, particularly in professional, craft and technical skill areas for ethnic minority groups.
 8. To secure adequate resources for the self-help programmes of ethnic minority groups.
 9. To campaign for the amendment of

legislation which has discriminatory effects on ethnic minority groups.

10. To encourage the widespread implementation of good practices and positive action on race relations throughout London by local authorities, public and private employers and other institutions and agencies.

The Committee is supported by an Ethnic Minorities Unit, which undertakes the relevant advisory, implementation, and monitoring tasks in respect of the Council's activities.

The Ethnic Minorities Unit will provide back-up support for the work of the Ethnic Minorities Committee. It will also provide a race relations advisory service to members and officers of the Council on all matters concerning the special needs of ethnic minorities and on how these can be responded to through the functions of the GLC. In conjunction with other agencies and with the support of the ethnic minority groups the Unit is:

- (a) a consultative resource on good practices to the London Boroughs, government departments, and other regional agencies;
- (b) an information point for anyone wanting information/data about the ethnic minority communities within the context of race relations policies, and positive action programmes;
- (c) a point of contact for ethnic minority communities on issues affecting their particular interests, so far as they relate to GLC activities.

Letters, articles, and visual images for publication in CURRENTS are welcomed

Racial Equality in the Decision Making Processes of the Municipality: A Possible Model

The implications of policies and practices on visible minorities have rarely been considered explicitly as an automatic and integral part of municipal decision making processes. The underlying assumption by and large has been that all groups would benefit in an equal way from municipal services.

The evidence of racial discrimination in Canada however, clearly indicates that the implementation of equal opportunity through "colour blind" or neutral practices does not remove the discriminatory effects on visible minorities. By treating everyone equally from now on by more rigorously applying universalistic criteria, is unfortunately too late. It ignores the historical development of racism within our social and economic structures. Such a limited approach is really no more than a neutral acceptance of the status quo, and a denial of the many forms in which racial discrimination manifests itself.

In addition, municipal government policies and practices, while they may appear to be fairly and equally applied to all members of the community, may still operate in such a way as to exclude visible minorities. Described as systemic racial discrimination, it is this factor which municipalities must assess and counter through the adoption of more positive approaches on race issues, especially through the decision-making processes.

The special needs of minority groups must be identified and planned to avoid further exacerbation of the problem of racial discrimination.

The following represents a possible model¹ by which a municipal government could introduce a race equality dimension in its decision-making process:

"The Council, in according a high priority to the development of responses for meeting the particular needs of visible minorities will

be promoting policies and programmes aimed at achieving equal opportunities for *all* racial groups.

In seeking to undertake this duty effectively, the Council is not only concerned with developing new policies and programmes to meet the special needs of disadvantaged racial groups, but also to avoid any unconscious, systemic forms of discrimination.

All future Committee reports should therefore contain a paragraph with appropriate comments under the heading of "*Ethnic Minority and Race Equality Considerations*". It is recognized that by their very nature, some reports will not have an ethnic minority or race equality dimension. In the interests of a common-sense approach, arrangements should be made to categorize as quickly as possible, particular types of report which from then on will be exempted from this requirement. Initially, however, and pending the early drawing up of certain exclusions, it is desirable as a discipline that all reports should consider whether or not any ethnic minority or race equality considerations are or might be involved and, if not, should say so.

The following paragraphs indicate the typical considerations which reports will need to take into account when bringing forward proposals: -

- (i) A report on a particular policy, proposal or project should seek to identify the likely or actual impact on racial minorities, either favourable or adverse.
- (ii) Identification of benefits to the racial minorities: it should not be assumed that proposals will automatically benefit all ethnic groups because they are part of a particular neighbourhood or client group which is multi-racial. Actual benefits accruing or likely to be achieved must be

- identified whenever possible.
- (iii) The Council has a duty in respect of its functions to promote equality of opportunity and good relations among the different racial groups. Wherever appropriate, there should be an attempt to identify the likely impact of any proposal with regard to these responsibilities.
- (iv) A programme, facility, or service might not be specifically aimed at a multi-racial client group. In such cases existing similar provision to that which might be available for other specific racial groups in the area concerned should be identified to give an overall assessment of needs, provisions and demands. The racial composition of an area is thus an important factor to be considered when specific provision is being made, especially if only intended to meet the needs of one identified racial group.

- (v) Will a project contribute to an improvement in race relations? To answer this question will often require some subjective evaluations, but some objective criteria could be applied. Some objective indicators include:
- (a) involvement of vulnerable groups (e.g. youth, unemployed);
 - (b) contains a positive multicultural educational component;
 - (c) activities which encourage non-White/White mix in proposed projects;
 - (d) positive approaches to equal opportunities.
- (vi) Wherever applicable, it should be stated that a proposal or report has no specific race relations implications."

Notes

1. Adopted from Ethnic Minorities Committee Report, Greater London Council, 1982.

Monitoring Equal Employment Opportunity Programmes at the Municipal Level

In virtually any area of corporate or managerial activity it would be thought absurd to suggest that an apparently important policy be adopted and then, deliberately, left to 'float free' without any effort being made to check what effect, if any, the policy was having.

Race relations and equal opportunity policies have unfortunately been left too often in this state, merely being treated as essentially politically desirable gestures.

If an equal opportunities policy did no more than say that a particular employer will make every effort not to discriminate, it would

not really amount to much. The employer would simply be saying that he or she will not try to break the law. Hardly deserving of a civic accolade!

If a municipality, or any employer, is to try to 'equalise' the opportunities open to minorities, it is impossible to imagine how this might be done unless some form of monitoring is used. The very word "equalise" implies some change and therefore some degree of measurement is essential to ascertain if any movement at all is taking place.

The importance of keeping data on visible

minorities in the municipal workforce then, can be summarised by the following justifications:

- demonstrates the municipality's commitment to equal opportunity;
- establishes credibility with the visible minority community;
- provides leadership, and serves as an example to other employers in the area;
- provides the information on which to judge the effectiveness of equal opportunities policies over time;
- provides the factual basis for discussion of recruitment and other employment policies as well as a defence against possible unfair accusations of discriminatory practices.

Equal Employment Opportunity and the City of Toronto

1985 is the ten year anniversary of the implementation of Equal Opportunity at the City of Toronto.

The 1982/83 Review (presented Dec. 6, 1984) draws together, for the first time, data on progress the City has made in providing equal opportunity to women, visible minorities and people with disabilities in the Civic workforce. Information is presented corporately, rather than by Department, and focusses on the occupational distribution of these target group employees. The Review seeks to measure equal access to employment in terms of:

- job access (no. of target group employees and the type of jobs they hold)
- wages
- promotion and hiring
- training and development

The Review notes that much less data is available on visible minorities and people with disabilities than on women. The reason for this deficiency is seen as reflecting the need to resolve ethical and methodological problems involved in identifying racial/ethnic minorities and people with disabilities.

The Review found that only 7% (391) of permanent Civic employees are members of visible minority groups. However, 14% (105) of the non-permanent workforce consists of visible minorities. This greater proportion of minorities in the temporary Civic workforce is

considered promising in that they could potentially be made permanent. However the figure also betrays the existing situation of a disproportionate number of minorities being denied permanent status and some or all of the normal fringe benefits.

In looking at the distribution of minorities throughout the City workforce, the figures are even more disquieting. 63% (95) of all visible minority women employees are concentrated in clerical occupations. The participation rate of visible minority employees is 20% in the non-permanent workforce of the Labouring, Transport, Package Handling, and Inspecting job categories, but only 3% in the permanent workforce.

The Review concludes that the equal opportunity measures taken to date have not been successful in increasing the representation of visible minorities in the City workforce. To remedy this the Review makes eleven recommendations which if implemented, the composition of the City workforce "could change over the next ten years".

While the City of Toronto may indeed be "recognized as a leader in the Equal Opportunity area" the results thus far are not encouraging. In addition, measuring equal access to employment only in terms of job access, wages, promotion and hiring, and training and development is too limited.

Whilst it is true that certain aspects of the employment process are more important than others every part of the process should be monitored, even if only to avoid the presumption that in those areas not monitored the City doesn't care whether discrimination exists or is continuing.

The London Borough of Hackney for example monitors the following distinct areas:

- Presentation and media used for advertising job vacancies
- Response to advertising
- Short-listing from returned application forms
- Interviewing
- Offers of employment
- Acceptance of offers of employment
- Reviews of probationary periods
- Job specifications and criteria for employment
- Terms and conditions

- Promotions
- Regrading
- Transfers
- Disciplinary procedures
- Grievance procedures
- Dismissals
- Leavers
- Reasons for leaving
- Access to and take up of training opportunities
- Existing staff

Because the rate of movement under each of the above headings will vary tremendously, certain parts of the personnel process need to be monitored and reported on more frequently than others. The Borough of Hackney therefore provides quarterly reports on some of the above items, some on a six month basis, and the remainder annually.

It should be stressed however that all the statistics gathered from this monitoring process do not in themselves tell us anything. But they do enable questions to be posed, and they do provide a starting point for discussion. For example, when compared over time, both against internal and external data, they can suggest that particular areas of the organizational personnel activities might benefit from closer study. Quite possibly the standards and procedures used are inappropriate or are being mis-applied due to lack of proper training or supervision. It is also possible that particular staff are quite deliberately failing to observe the equal opportunity policy.

Monitoring should not be seen as a "policing" exercise, nor as a threat to employers or

employees, but rather as an aid or support to them in their work. It is an integral part of a wider management process which progresses from the monitoring of recruitment toward the maximization of staff potential.

While the City of Toronto's 1982/83 Equal Opportunity Review is a good start, the recommendations it makes are merely a necessary prerequisite to ensure that the resources are adequate to implement a more thorough, complete and prompt reviewing process. Actually ensuring equal employment opportunities for minorities is yet to be tackled.

And record keeping of the *users* of the City's service which is a different but equally important matter has yet to be considered in Toronto. For example to what extent are the municipality's recreational or health services being utilized by minorities and to what extent do these services meet minority needs?

Gathering statistics is not an end in itself: it is a means towards a number of closely related ends: equal opportunity in employment; equal access to services; more comprehensive, sensitive and responsive provision. Without prior commitment to these ends, data gathering is unlikely to improve either public services, staff or community relations.

References

- Ken Young and Naomi Connelly, "Ethnic Record Keeping in Local Authorities: A Discussion Paper", Policy Studies Institute, London, 1981.
- "Monitoring An Equal Opportunity Policy: A Guide for Employers", Commission for Racial Equality, London, 1981.
- "Record Keeping and Monitoring in Education and Employment" Runnymede Trust, London, 1981.
- "Equal Opportunity Review: 1982-83", City of Toronto, 1984.

Municipal Contracts and Their Role in Promoting Racial Equality

The willingness of municipalities to use their position as one of the largest purchaser of goods and services in this country would symbolize the importance they attach to the fundamental issue of ensuring equality of economic opportunity and combatting racial discrimination in employment. It would also demonstrate an acceptance of the reality that mere cajolery and exhortation is clearly ineffective in inducing change in business behaviour.

The size of municipal involvement in a number of fields argues that a concern for equal economic opportunity would have a very considerable practical effect on such industries as furniture, stationery and office supplies, the computer industry, the construction industry, the financial and investment industry, etc.

Contract Compliance

Municipal influence in demanding employment equality programmes on the part of any supplier of goods and services could contribute significantly in improving the general performance of local employers in ensuring equality of opportunity.

As an example of the steps that are necessary for municipalities to utilize the vehicle of contract compliance in pursuit of this goal, the City of Toronto is presently undertaking a review of:

- employment representation of women, visible minorities and people with disabilities among Civic Agencies (Boards, Commissions and Municipal Enterprises)
- the recruitment, selection and promotion policies and practices of Civic Agencies
- the purchasing policies and practices of Civic Agencies

- the development and implementation of equal opportunity programmes within these Civic Agencies
- the adoption of equal opportunity policies by all grant recipients
- the employment representation of women, visible minorities and people with disabilities in those companies in the private sector who are suppliers of goods and services, including financial institutions.

If municipalities are to begin to use its contracting powers as a leveraging tool to improve business policies and practices, they must have statutory backing for the policy, they must have the capacity to review, systematically, the performance of contractors, there must be provision for sanctions in the event that a contractor's performance was clearly inadequate, and the municipality must be able and prepared to give guidance on implementing employment equity policies.

An effective system of enforcement would be one in which each contracting department had responsibility for monitoring the employment policies and practices of organizations with which it placed contracts. The yardstick for assessment would be a municipal-backed code of manpower policy and practice. Potential contractors would be asked to furnish evidence that they had taken steps to comply with the code. Similar provisions would apply to the renewal of existing contracts.

A report by the City of Toronto, "Contract Compliance: Equal Opportunity Background Report" (March, 1983) describes what this code of manpower policies and practices could consist of (see review, Currents Vol. 2, No. 4). The number of "good faith measures" includes such things as recruitment, hiring, training, and promotion procedures.

Contracts to Minorities

One of the more significant trends of municipal initiative in responding to racial inequality in the U.S. is the increasing emphasis on procurement contracts. In many municipalities there is a recognition that there is little value on focussing on an equal opportunities policy in employment if there are no employment opportunities. Secondly, minority entrepreneurs are being recognized as generating

successful businesses and playing an increasingly important role in the economy. As such, they are also viewed as having the greatest potential for providing stable jobs at decent pay to those who are having most difficulties in finding employment. A number of cities in the U.S. have established a minority vendor procurement policy to ensure that a greater proportion of the goods and services it purchases is contracted with minority owned businesses.

Municipal Government and Minority Business Development

The growth of a strong minority business sector is of crucial importance to the attainment of full racial equality. Local government has a unique role to play in ensuring that the minority business sector is encouraged and developed so that its potential benefits to the whole community can be fully realized. In so doing, local government is not just responding to a "problem"; they will be meeting the challenge of working in cooperation with the minority community towards economic regeneration and growth which will be of benefit to all.

Local Government Initiatives in the U.S.

A number of cities such as Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Miami, have made conscious efforts to include minorities in their municipal economic development plans and activities in order to address the evident disparity between minority economic development and the economic development of the mainstream community as a whole.

Although municipalities cannot control but must operate within a larger regional and national economy, they can direct their energies towards economic problems distinct to their

community. And although municipalities are limited in what they can accomplish in this area without the assistance of the private business community, they can exercise leadership and mobilize public resources to create incentives for private sector participation in a minority business development programme.

Mayoral leadership and commitment was found to be of critical importance, for example in Baltimore¹ in the development of a comprehensive plan designed to foster economic growth in the minority community. This plan includes specific strategies to overcome the principal institutionalized barriers to minority economic development, the provision of managerial and technical assistance, access to capital and the provision of long-term, low-interest loans and other financing arrangements, and access to markets for minority firms.

Local Government Initiatives in the U.K.*

Recognition of the responsibilities of local government in the U.K. for encouraging minority business development can be found in a recent report by a joint Government/Local Authority working group:

"Ethnic minority businesses, be they commercial enterprises, community business ventures or co-operatives, are already contributing to the creation of jobs and the economic regeneration of their communities. However, given more positive support from local authorities through the adoption and implementation of programmes designed to meet the special needs of such businesses, this contribution could be considerably enhanced".

Evidence has shown that minorities in the U.K. are severely under-represented among the self-employed and business entrepreneurs. The evidence also shows that minority business people face particular difficulties and additional disadvantages over and above those faced by any new small business. These include the lack of access to finance for start-up and growth, a lack of training and experience in necessary management skills such as marketing, sales, financial control, accountancy and buying, a lack of knowledge and/or use of existing advisory services, limited markets, as well as a set of inter-related problems centred on premises and location.

Research/identifying needs

Before looking at specific solutions, it is important to bear in mind the importance of the identification of problems and needs. It was only after research studies that authorities such as the London Borough of Lambeth and Hackney were able to proceed with appropriate solutions.

In Bradford, for example, the local Council's Economic Development Unit sponsored a research study into Asian businesses in the area in order:

- to provide basic factual information on Asian businesses in Bradford in terms of, for example, numbers, type of industry, employment levels, trading patterns, access to finance, methods of financing growth;
- to look specifically at existing Council policies, not just in economic development, but also in planning and other areas, and to analyse the differential impact of these policies on Asian businesses.

Since May 1984 a smaller scale project has been undertaken at the Queen's College in Glasgow, into the needs and problems of Asian small businesses, with funding from, among others, Glasgow District Council.

It should also be remembered that the identification of needs is not exclusively the province of formal research work. Equally important, if not more so, is the creation of a forum through which minority businesses can voice their concerns and needs to local authority representatives. The Greater London Council have, for example, arranged a number of meetings between representatives of ethnic minority businesses and members of the Council and the Greater London Enterprise Board. The London Borough of Islington held a meeting with minority business representatives in that area to discuss the results of a research project conducted by the Polytechnic of North London. Meetings of this kind are an effective way of ensuring that authorities remain responsive to the needs of minority businesses and take account of these needs in their policy formulation.

Finance

One response by local authorities to the financial problems of minority businesses has been to make available grants and loan facilities to assist in meeting the costs of feasibility studies, start-up, building acquisition, product development, etc.

The Greater London Councils' Committee have recently agreed to a pilot scheme for encouraging ethnic minority businesses. Six to eight local agencies are to be set up to provide start-up funding, advice and business contracts for enterprises of up to ten people, and will concentrate on encouraging enterprises in four industrial sectors - clothing, printing, food and cultural industries. Each start-up would qualify for up to £15,000 aid from a pool of £300,000 set aside for the scheme.

An alternative or complement to the actual provision of loan facilities is the setting up by local authorities of loan guarantee arrangements. In the London Borough of Haringey, for example, the local authority, in conjunc-

tion with the Co-operative Bank, has established a Loan Guarantee Scheme whereby the Council guarantees part of a loan made by the Bank. The size of loan involved is normally in the range of £5,000 to £50,000 although there is provision for some flexibility. The scheme is open to all businesses but is of course likely to be of benefit to minority businesses, for whom lack of sufficient security has been a major problem in the past.

Another means whereby a number of local authorities have tried to facilitate the financing of minority businesses, is through attempts to influence the banks at an overall policy level and by mediating between local branches and minority businesses both on individual cases, and in general promotional activities. Hackney followed up their research project by sending copies of the report to the four major clearing banks for comment, and subsequently held head office meetings with three of these banks. The Borough, like several other authorities, has also appointed a minority business adviser, an important part of whose role is to assist minority businesses seeking funds from conventional sources.

Managerial expertise

One way of overcoming shortcomings in managerial skills and experience is to provide a specialist advisory service. A growing number of local authorities have appointed ethnic minority business advisers. While detailed job descriptions vary according to circumstances and needs, the duties of these posts generally include:

- provision of advice about all aspects of setting up and running a business;
- assisting in the preparation of applications for finance, premises, etc;
- providing introductions and mediating between businesses and banks, central and local government departments, etc.
- investigating special needs and difficulties and making recommendations to the local authority where appropriate;
- investigating training needs and developing suitable provision.

Another approach to overcoming shortcomings in the area of managerial or other relevant professional skills and knowledge is

"It cannot be through equal access to employment opportunities alone that racial disadvantage in employment is overcome; it is equally important that ethnic minority businessmen should be enabled to play a full part in the nation's economy as employers and as self-employed. Not only does self-employment provide an alternative source of income particularly important for those who are disadvantaged or discriminated against in the search for employment, but it also contributes to the regeneration of the urban areas in which the majority of ethnic minorities live. It is thus in the interests of the whole community that obstacles to the full participation by members of any minority group in the creation and running of small businesses should be removed."

(Home Affairs Committee Report on Racial Disadvantage)

to arrange for suitable training. The London Borough of Hackney has funded a pilot training course directed at existing minority business people.

A project sponsored by the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham set out to provide both advice and training, as well as providing a focal point for contact, for the Borough's ethnic minority businesses. In mid-1982, the Council made available funding for a pilot programme, to promote minority business development. A steering group representing the Council, the Borough's Council for Racial Equality and local minority business people was set up, and as a first step set out to identify those businesses already in existence as well as potential start-ups. Two seminars for actual and potential entrepreneurs were then held, followed by formal training over nine weeks.

The Hammersmith and Fulham Scheme also shows clearly how a local authority can work with the local community in encouraging and developing a self-help approach. The project's steering group broadened into what

"The encouragement of black people to secure a real stake in their own community, through business and the professions, is of great importance if future social stability is to be secured...I do urge the necessity for speedy action if we are to avoid the perpetuation in this country of an economically dispossessed black population."

(Lord Scarman: The Brixton Disorders)

is now a strong Black Business Development Association to which the Council has made available funds for legal formation costs, clerical support, the publication of a Directory of Black Businesses and a "training event" to launch the Association. The Council's black business adviser also works closely with the Association.

In Glasgow a proposal for an Ethnic Minority Small Business Centre has been developed by a local college to provide training, information, research and consultancy facilities. The proposal has been supported by the Scottish Economic Planning Department and applications have been made to Strathclyde Regional Council and Glasgow District Council.

Markets

Local authority initiatives to help minority businesses find new markets have as yet been limited in number and scale and have taken the form of a review of procedures for awarding contracts. For example, a review by the Greater London Council highlighted the fact that no ethnic minority caterers had in the past

been offered catering concessions, so the Council decided to:

- advertise in ethnic minority publications all major festivals and outdoor events at which catering concessions are awarded;
- give advice and guidance to ethnic minority caterers on the Council's requirements to obtain catering concessions.

Apart from the issue of catering, briefing sessions and seminars have also been held to increase awareness among ethnic minority businesses of contracts and tendering procedures and of the range of products and services concerned. A number of other local authorities are reviewing their purchasing and tendering procedures with a view to ensuring greater equality of opportunity for minority businesses. A necessary first step is the identification of minority businesses in the area concerned and an assessment of the extent to which they are represented among those awarded contracts or concessions.

Environmental problems

Only a few local authorities have taken action to ensure that suitable premises are available to minority businesses. Among those which have is the London Borough of Hackney, which has set up an enterprise workshop in an area of high ethnic minority population. The workshop aims to provide low-cost workspace for new firms and provides fourteen units. The rent is gradually increased over an initial year, at the end of which it is hoped that firms will be better placed to move out to their own larger premises, which the Council will assist them to find.

The research in Lambeth drew attention to certain problems with the local authority itself in relation to planning permission. In reviewing their planning policies the first step has been to monitor on a pilot basis the race of those seeking planning permission, and secondly to appoint a race adviser in the Planning Department to ensure that relevant minority business interests and issues continue to command attention.

**This section is extracted from the report 'Local Authorities and Black Business Development'*

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Footnotes

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FINDINGS

No Discrimination Here?

Toronto Employers and the Multi-Racial Workforce: A Baseline Study

Brenda Billingsley & Leon Muszynski

The evidence of racial discrimination in Canada may now be compelling, but there is still little information on how or where discrimination occurs. It is not easy to detect discriminatory behaviour, even when it is overt and intentional, based on the biased attitudes of employers, or on what appears to be expedient in the hiring process. Discriminatory behaviour is even more difficult to detect when it is the result of ignorance or neglect,

the outcome of the application of seemingly neutral practices that often unintentionally exclude minorities. In this way, personnel "systems" can be discriminatory even though the individuals who manage them do not consciously *intend*, or even *know* them to be discriminatory.

With these issues in mind, the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto and the Urban Alliance on Race Relations, undertook a

survey of 199 large employers (all with over 50 employees) in the Toronto area. The purpose of the research was to collect sound qualitative and quantitative data on the attitudes and practices of a representative sample of Toronto employers, on issues related to the hiring and management of a multi-racial workforce.

Personal interviews were conducted with key personnel decision makers in each organization. The questionnaire covered a variety of policies, practices and attitudes directly and indirectly related to racial minority participation in the labour force. Respondents were questioned on:

- (1) Organizational policies to address race-related employment issues;
- (2) Policies on recruitment, selection, training and termination for seven types of positions, namely senior management, junior management, salaried professionals, clerical and office support, sales, skilled trades people, unskilled labourers and casuals;
- (3) Types of situations or problems encountered in a multi-racial workforce, and practice in handling such situations or problems;
- (4) Perceptions and views on long-term policy options to address race-related employment issues; and,
- (5) The racial composition of the internal workforce, by sex, for six races in eight positions.¹

Employer Attitudes Towards Racial Minorities

Open-ended questions were designed to provide respondents the opportunity to express opinions about both Whites and Non-Whites. Indeed, respondents did express a range of perceptions and attitudes that reflected a willingness to generalize about Non-Whites. The large majority made at least one unsolicited reference to Non-Whites as a specific racial group. Analysis of these remarks indicates that 28% of the entire sample believed that Non-Whites in general, do not have the ability to meet job performance criteria now applied to Whites. Respondents typically volunteered that hiring more minorities would mean "lower standards and

reduced productivity" although no evidence of this was offered in support of these remarks. Three per cent of employers told interviewers that Non-Whites were a hard-working labour pool, whose willingness to accept low wages and long work hours was justifiably exploited. Approximately 13 per cent perceived an increased presence of Non-Whites as threatening, particularly if Non-Whites gain promotions over Whites into management positions. And a small but vocal 7 per cent of respondents openly expressed contempt of Non-Whites or a Non-White group, adding derogatory generalizations about racial minorities. In all, 51 per cent of respondents expressed some negative attitude towards Non-Whites as a group. At the opposite extreme, 9 per cent expressed a firm belief in racial equality and a commitment to achieving that equality.

Evidence of Opportunity of Discrimination

The extent of overtly racist attitudes expressed in a unsolicited manner by managers is disturbing. However, there is a difference between attitudes on one hand and behaviour on the other. It is possible for a manager who has negative attitudes towards Non-Whites to behave fairly in the practice of personnel management if policies are objectively structured to select the best person for the job.

Systemic discrimination is inherent to systems, not necessarily to individuals who manage the system. It is therefore important to determine:

- (1) The extent to which systems are open to the subjectivity and bias of those who use them, and,
- (2) The extent to which the systems are inherently biased themselves.

Results of the survey suggest that current personnel recruitment policies are informal enough, and selection policies are subjective enough, to provide ample opportunity for exercising racial bias. However, the large majority of employers see no relationship between personnel policy and discrimination. Except for personnel managers in large public and quasi-public organizations, respondents in fact wondered aloud at the reasons for our

questions about their personnel policies. Frequently, respondents remarked "Okay, when do the questions on race come? or, "How come we're spending all this time on personnel policies, isn't this a survey on race relations?" Few organizations had examined their employment "systems" for their discriminatory potential.

Recruitment and selection policies can work against the acceptance of visible minorities into the labour force and into management or senior positions. Old boy networks and word-of-mouth recruitment, which are used extensively by Toronto employers, tends to reproduce White dominated senior positions. Employers were also found to rely extensively on subjective, poorly defined personnel selection criteria, even though this provides considerable opportunity for discriminatory decisions. The large number of criteria found to be used for management selection in particular, means that Non-Whites who have qualified in several objective respects must still be evaluated by subjective criteria, such as "ability to fit in". Such criteria have historically been used to protect White dominated boardrooms. The use of personality tests and security classifications also increases the potential for race discrimination in selection.

Opportunity for discrimination against Non-Whites in the recruitment and selection of employees does not mean that discrimination occurs. However, it does suggest the need for employers to evaluate the methods and the criteria they use.

The findings of the study suggest that the use of informal recruitment methods may be related to race differentials in employment. Senior management, junior management and sales position, which are more likely than other positions to be filled by informal recruitment methods are also much more likely to be filled by Whites than Non-Whites. Professional, clerical and skilled trades positions, which are less likely than other positions to be filled by these methods, are equally likely to be filled by Non-Whites as Whites. And the one position in which Non-Whites are much more likely than Whites to be represented, that of unskilled labourer, is among the least likely to be filled through informal recruitment methods.

Inter-Racial Tensions as a Factor in Discrimination

Discrimination or exclusion of Non-Whites from employment opportunities is only one form of race related employment problem. The reality of a multi-racial workforce introduces a range of other difficulties for managers and employees. We sought to determine what some of these problems were and how employers resolved them.

All employers were asked a series of questions regarding problem situations that can occur in a multi-racial workplace. Survey data suggest the many Toronto employers overlook or discount inter-racial tensions in their workforces. Approximately one-half of Toronto employers were unaware of any inter-racial problems or tensions in the workplace. Those reporting "no problems here" frequently responded with stereotypic phrases such as:

"There is no discrimination here. We are just one big, happy family".

The veracity of these statements is questionable given the documented relationship between an increasing Non-White presence and tension in the workplace.

Even when employers answered "yes", that certain situations had occurred, they did not necessarily view the situations as racial problems. Frequently, respondents made comments that although racial slurs had been exchanged, or although complaints of discriminatory treatment were heard, "It wasn't a real problem", or that race was only a small insignificant component in a "personality-clash". In the few organizations that had conducted in-depth race-relations training for management, respondents considered any complaint or situation with a racial component to be a problem worthy of serious consideration.

Content analysis of 208 race-based complaints reported to us by managers indicates that while the majority of White complaints were derogatory race-based generalizations about hygiene, work habits, language or attitudes of other races, the majority Non-White complaints alleged racially discriminatory employment decisions, practices, or race-based harassment from White co-workers,

supervisors or subordinates.

Managerial perceptions and methods of handling race-related problems can either contribute to or help resolve racial tensions in the workplace. For this reason, questions in the interview attempted to elicit as much detailed information as possible on each race-related situation.

Several differences in management handling of White compared to Non-White race-based complaints were revealed. Management ignores or discreetly handles half of White complaints about Non-Whites. Non-White complaints about Whites are less likely than White complaints to be ignored or treated subtly. (About one-fourth of Non-White complaints are handled in this way). Despite their variance in substance, each race's complaints are approximately equally like to result in an investigation or joint discussion involving all parties (21 per cent of Non-White complaints and 17 per cent of White complaints result in an investigation or joint discussion).

In terms of discipline, management appears to be less punitive toward Whites complaining about assumed negative attributes of racial minorities than toward Non-Whites complaining about alleged discriminatory treatment from Whites. **A disturbingly high proportion (49 per cent) of Non-White complaints were handled by disciplining the Non-White complainant.** And, 11 per cent of managers believe the best way to prevent complaints is to keep their work forces as White as possible. Forty-one per cent of Non-Whites were dissatisfied enough with management responses to re-direct their complaints to a human rights commission.

Policies to Prevent Discrimination

Considering the high incidence among surveyed employers of personnel policies that have been identified as providing opportunity for differential race impacts, as well as documented poor management responses to inter-racial tension in the workplace, employer efforts to counteract possible impacts through special policies and programs are extremely important.

All respondents were asked to name "any programs, policies or initiatives this establishment might have considered or taken to ad-

dress race-related employment issues". Remarkably, 82 per cent of employers have no special policies in this area, an extremely high proportion considering the emphasis recently placed on the lack of equal opportunities for racial minorities. Of race-related policies used by Toronto employers, accordance with Ontario Human Rights Commission (OHRC) guidelines was the most commonly named (by 18 per cent of respondents), followed by Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) statements (by 15 per cent of respondents).

Do Employers Want Change?

All employers were asked "In your opinion, is it desirable for employers to have policies regarding the recruitment, hiring, training and/or promotion of Non-Whites?" Approximately three-quarters of respondents did not find any such organization-wide policy desirable. The majority of respondents giving reasons for their opposition to any official personnel policy dealing with minority races, voiced one of two types of opinions, either such policies are unnecessary or they *cause* problems. The former group frequently argued that White racial discrimination may be a problem practiced by other organizations, it is not practiced by this organization. Respondents who stated that such a policy would be harmful felt that it might provoke a White backlash, encourage the belief that a problem (which does not exist) exists, or lead to an unwanted quota system. Only one employer expressing negative opinions about such policies had *any* direct experience with *any* policy relating to the full participation of racial minorities in the workforce. The remainder based their opinions on popular opinion or about the *possible* negative effects of such policies.

Forty-five per cent of the sample, the majority of whom reacted negatively to the term "Affirmative Action", could not name *any* specific measure or employment policy reform that an Affirmative Action program includes. Almost one-third (31 per cent) of respondents believe it refers only to equal job access or hiring; 15 per cent believe it is equivalent to an Equal Employment Opportunity (or non-discrimination) policy; 2 per cent, to a minority training program for skills upgrading; and 1

per cent, to staff training in minority rights.

Only six per cent of those questioned independently answered that Affirmative Action refers to a program resembling its definition by the federal Department of Employment.

a process designed to examine and reform the entire personnel system, with the goal of removing barriers, whether intentional or unintentional, to equal participation of minorities at all stages in that system.²

Finally, assuming that the government decides to take action in this area, respondents were asked for their preferences in terms of the form those actions should take. Responses indicate that the large majority of Toronto employers (86 per cent) are opposed to mandatory legislation in the race relations sphere. Despite a "forced" choice, 6 per cent of respondents adamantly refused to choose any of the listed choices outlining a range of Affirmative Action options, saying, in a typical example, "The government should keep its nose out of business". Approximately three-fourths (73 per cent) of organizations polled, prefer that the government institute a voluntary program, providing technical assistance if requested.

Monitoring Change

Statistical monitoring of racial composition is an important component of programs to ensure the full and equal participation of racial minorities in the workforce. A director of industrial relations for a large corporation operating in Great Britain, where such monitoring is now officially recommended, has noted:

An equal opportunity policy without monitoring is not a policy, but a statement of wishful thinking and is likely to be as much use as a finance policy which makes no provisions for checking how much cash there is in the bank.³

Monitoring is apparently a new concept to Toronto employers. When asked whether or not they keep statistics on the racial make-up of the workforce at this establishment, over 92 per cent of respondents said "no", usually accompanying their answers with comments in-

dicating a lack of any discernable need for such statistics. "There is no need", "it's not necessary", "we have no race problem, so why would we?", were common reasons given by representatives of all sizes and types of organizations for not initiating racial monitoring. Many of these respondents also had a "gut feeling" that "we have lots of Non-Whites here, we know we would meet any guidelines". However, experience in this area has shown that perceptions often differ from reality.

Despite the novelty of the concept and the numerous objections to it, implementing a monitoring mechanism appears to be relatively easy. Seventy-seven per cent of those employers surveyed were willing and able to provide interviewers with detailed breakdowns of their internal labour forces by six races for eight positions and in most cases, both sexes, entering numbers in 98 cells of information sheets. Moreover, representatives of all but the large (over 500 employees) organizations generally completed information sheets in less than 15 minutes during the interview. Except for employee groups with over 100 people, for which "guestimates" were often necessary, respondents could easily compile fairly accurate information from name lists or personal knowledge. Even for the largest of organizations (over 2,000 employees), respondents usually knew the race and sex of the entire senior management group.

Policy Implications

The findings of this employer survey imply a need for broad policy changes in the race and employment area. Four policy implications are identified:

1. The responsibility of the federal and especially the Ontario government to strengthen the enforcement of human rights in employment through stronger sanctions, and requirements for alternative actions such as monitoring of the impact of personnel systems on racial minorities. Also, an effort must be made to investigate whole industries cited in numerous complaints, whether or not each complaint on its own is found valid.

2. The need for a systems approach to address the problem that prevent Non-Whites from realizing their full potential in the labour market. Employer reluctance to initiate such policy reform, lends support to arguments for mandatory programs to improve employment equity at the organizational level.
3. The need for race relations training programs directed initially to management, but also at majority employees. Managers have a responsibility to ensure that racial minorities are treated fairly and equally in their interaction with White majority groups. Increased sensitivity to racial issues through such programs could help resolve difficulties in on-going interaction experienced by different racial groups in the workplace.
4. The need for regular monitoring to assess changes in participation of racial minorities within firms and within the society as a whole. It is impossible to effectively evaluate any employment equity program without a system to monitor outcomes for target groups.

Finally, further research in the form of case

studies at the firm level is essential to understand the specific and detailed ways in which racial discrimination operates.

The Study "No Discrimination Here? Toronto Employers and the Multi-Racial Workforce" is available either through the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto or the Urban Alliance on Race Relations.

Brenda Billingsley is Research Coordinator for the study, and Leon Muszynski is Program Director with the Social Planning Council.

This article is drawn from a paper presented to the Annual Conference of the Canadian Industrial Relations Association, University of Montreal, May 30, 1985.

Footnotes

1. The results of this survey have been published by Brenda Billingsley, Leon Muszynski, *No Discrimination Here? Toronto Employers and the Multi-Racial Work Force*, Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto and the Urban Alliance on Race Relations, Toronto, 1985.
2. Employment and Immigration Canada (1982:41) defines Affirmative Action programs as comprehensive planning processes ("for eliminating systematically induced inequities and redressing the historic patterns of employment disadvantage suffered by members of target groups")
3. Paul Roots (Ford Co.), quoted in Croft, P., "Counting on monitoring for racial equality", *Personnel Management* 16:3, March 1984, p. 17.

Job Segregation at the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto

Findings of the visible minority survey, contained in the audit and analysis of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Workforce ("Equal Employment Opportunity First Report", June 1985), show that:

- Employees identified as members of visible minority groups comprised 1,756 or 19% of Metro's workforce in 1984, a percentage that is roughly proportionate to the estimated

representation of visible minorities in the Metropolitan Toronto population.

- Of visible minority groups, Blacks are most highly represented, comprising 8.8% of Metro's workforce, followed by Asians at 7.5%, and South Asians at 1.7%.
- Seventy-three per cent (73%) of all visible minority employees are female, as compared to 40% of all Caucasian employees.

Thirty per cent (30%) of all female employees are members of a visible minority group.

- Visible minority males are under-represented in the Metropolitan workforce. They represent 5% of the total Metropolitan workforce. Approximately 10% of all male employees in the Corporation are visible minorities.
- Visible minority employees represent 15% of the permanent workforce, 16% of the temporary workforce, and 37% of the casual workforce.
- Seventy-seven per cent (77%) of Caucasians are on permanent staff, 12% are temporary and 11% are casuals. By comparison, 60% of visible minority employees are permanent, 10% are temporary, and 30% are on casual staff.

Distribution By Department

- Eighty-three per cent (83%) of all visible minority employees work in the Community Services Department, comprising 28% of the Departmental workforce. The remaining 17% of visible minority employees are distributed through all other Departments.

level position classifications. One third of all visible minority employees are in just one position (Nursing Attendant).

- Ninety-four per cent (94%) of all female visible minority employees work in Community Services. By comparison, 54% of male visible minority employees work in this Department.
- Sixty-nine per cent (69%) of all visible minority employees work in the Homes for the Aged. Of these, 47% work on a casual or temporary basis.

Distribution By Position Classification

- Sixty-one per cent (61%) of all visible minorities are concentrated in five entry-

TABLE 1

Representation and Distribution of Visible Minorities in Selected Position Classifications

	Representation of Visible Minorities in Classification	% of Visible Minority Employees
Nursing Attendant	51%	34
Dietary Aide Grade 2	34%	8
Registered Nurse	44%	7
Welfare Visitor Grade 1	22%	6
Clerk Grade 3	21%	6

These positions account for 30% of all employees in the Corporation.

Join the fight against racism!
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Policy and Practice in the Multi-Racial City

Ken Young and Naomi Connelly *Policy and Practice in the Multi-Racial City* Policy Studies Institute, London, 1981.

This book is a detailed study of the policies and practices of local government in the U.K. in relation to their minority populations. The authors examined the activities of six local governments in some depth as well as collecting material from all the major urban centres with substantial minority communities.

The central question which the book addresses is the extent to which local government has reacted to the responsibilities given them by Section 71 of the 1976 Race Relations Act which places a duty to "make appropriate arrangements with a view to securing that their various functions are carried out with due regard to the need to:

- eliminate unlawful racial discrimination, and
- promote equality of opportunity and good relations between persons of different racial groups".

The authors looked at the response of the local governments to this challenge in terms of the 'organizational context of provision, that is, the corporate arrangements for handling minority issues, and the 'appreciative context of provision' which the authors define as the extent to which race is seen as a separate and explicit component of policy. Young and Connelly considered these aspects of provision

within the fields of employment policies, social services, and education in schools, as well as assessing the form and extent of consultation and involvement of the minorities themselves and local Community Relations Councils.

The authors concluded that local policy-makers were generally found to be unresponsiveness to minority needs. They recommend that a national Task Group should be established to provide a catalyst of change at the local level, that corporate arrangements should be provided which make explicit a minority dimension to all local government policies, and that there should be an advisory or clearing house for the lateral dissemination of experience from municipality to municipality. An organization, the Local Authority Race Relations Information Exchange (L.A.R.R.I.E.) has since been established to perform this function.

Young and Connelly not only provide a useful study of the workings of large public bureaucracies, but they also shed light on why provision for minorities in local government is still inadequate and how this position might be remedied. Although many of the recommendations are particular to the U.K. situation, Canadians will find this an extremely valuable reference work, and it certainly provides the directions for the Federation of Canadian Municipalities to expand its information dissemination and catalyst role in this field.

"The System"

Herman Ouseley et al. *The System* Runnymede Trust and the South London Equal Rights Consultancy, London 1981.

The title of this book is taken by the authors to describe the organizational arrangements within large institutions which determine how jobs are offered, to whom services are provided, facilities made available, and resources allocated. It is within these internal organizational structures that bureaucratic procedures develop and are supplemented by a range of rules and regulations. It is the attitudes, actions and practices of the managers and administrators of these organizations who ultimately determine who gets what, where and when.

The focus of this volume is on the particular arrangements made by one local government, the London borough of Lambeth, to tackle racism and promote equality of opportunity. It explains how and why Lambeth Council established its Race Relations Unit and analyses the Units' activities from 1978 to 1981.

As a case study, it is somewhat unique in that the authors were the staff of the Race Relations Unit. The study is not only useful in its knowledge of the workings of local government and the channels that can be used to implement race relations policies, but it is also an interesting story of local bureaucracy, local politics and community action in tackling the issue of racial discrimination.

The authors draw on an extensive range of findings and personal experience, from inside the system, in their analysis of the local government's performance in meeting its declared aim of eliminating racial discrimination from its operations.

The main body of the book describes the various strategies pursued by the Race Relations Unit in working with each of the various departments of the local government in assuming responsibility for implementing pro-

grammes to improve the social, economic and cultural conditions of minorities living in the municipality. From the operation of its swimming pools, libraries, environmental health, planning to social services, housing, and recreational services, this case study provides a systematic rather than ad-hoc approach to race relations at the municipal level. It provides a model of how the issue of race can be integrated into the management systems of the corporate planning and decision-making system of a local government.

While some of the larger municipalities in Canada are only now considering the appropriate structural form by which to address the issue of race relations, this book provides the story of how one municipality has institutionalized a corporate approach to race relations and developed the necessary internal organizational responses.

The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto is perhaps the only Canadian local government as yet that has begun to take this step. Like Metro Toronto, the borough of Lambeth established an independent, high-ranking Race Relations Unit located in the Chief Executive's office. The Unit was given access to the key decision-making points in the structure with direct reporting rights to appropriate committees and direct access to Department Heads.

The Race Relations Unit was established in May 1979, and by May 1981 over 60 relevant reports had been presented to Committees on different aspects of race policy. Although the terms of reference establishing the Unit were somewhat broad and general, the Unit itself took as its goals:

- equal share of jobs;
- equal share of resources;
- equal access to facilities;
- equal participation in decision-making.

The book therefore describes the Units' efforts in establishing a range of policies that enable procedures to be adapted in pursuit of

these goals. It is these procedures and practices which are the key to the success of the policy objectives. And it is the Municipal staff and their management bodies who are directly responsible for these procedures and practices. They are the people who deliver the services, recruit staff, and actually know who will get what. They are in the front-line of ensuring fair treatment or perpetuating inequalities.

The authors conclude that achieving changes at every management level, in every area of local government, cannot be dependent solely on the abilities of a small Race Relations Unit. Political authority is needed to support race equality policies, and alliances with trade unions and external community agencies are required to apply and maintain pressure.

It may be a few years yet before such a story can be written by Metro Toronto or some other Canadian municipality. In the meantime, this short paperback could serve as an invaluable

handbook on how to begin to tackle some of the inefficient and discriminatory features of our local government system.

There still exists in Canada, a widespread tendency to dismiss racial discrimination as isolated incidents or to "de-racialize" the inequalities suffered by visible minorities to other disadvantages which are not racially specific. In this context there is a consequent disinclination to adopt the same kind of professional approach adopted in responding to other major social issues. Given the tendency to approach race relations on "a hope and a prayer", Herman Ouseley's *The System*, shows how comprehensive and professional it is necessary to be.

It is only by differentiating and by being explicit about race as a significant component and dimension of policy and practice, will municipalities be effective in tackling racial discrimination and moving towards the goal of racial equality.

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